2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the con-
[591] trary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is practiced, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old."

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Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after."

[782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful.

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Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations.

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To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75